

West Overton
Westmoreland County
Pennsylvania

HABS No. PA-5654

HABS
PA
65-OVTW,
11-

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HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

WEST OVERTON

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Location: West Overton, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania.

Present Owner: West Overton Museums.

West Overton is a small company town originating in the early nineteenth century. Through the history of this community and its physical fabric, consisting of surviving brick workers' houses, managerial mansion, store, distillery building, and outbuildings, the growth and change of a small industry can be charted.

Henry Overholt, who established a farm here in 1803, along with two stills, bequeathed it to his son Abraham, beginning a long tradition of family control. Abraham was responsible for expanding the family enterprise from agriculture to distillery, and integrating the distillery to include tasks prior and subsequent to the distilling itself: chopping the grain before it was cooked, and feeding the waste to hogs afterward.

The next generation of the family professionalized the business and became the true managerial class. Abraham's son, Henry S. Overholt, joined with his father in partnership to form the A. & H. S. Overholt Company in 1854, and ran the works as manager until both their deaths in 1870. During this time, a skilled working class as well as laborers became established in the village of West Overton, working for the company and renting houses from it. Although a hierarchy among the classes of laborer, artisan, and manager--and sometimes within them--existed, lines were often crossed. West Overton was a small community of workers probably familiar to each other, but they exhibited little attachment to the company and moved on fairly rapidly.

By 1874 Aaron S. R. Overholt--the next generation--began to diversify the company's operations, as well as integrate them. Coal had been discovered on the land and in that year a line of sixty-four coke ovens was built along Felgars Run. Foreign immigrants soon joined the native Pennsylvanians in West Overton, creating a larger and more diverse community. The coking operation closed in the early twentieth century, and the distillery was shut down during prohibition. Several of the surviving buildings in West Overton have operated as a museum since 1927. Although the museum has been traditionally interpreted as the home of Henry Clay Frick, the village is of interest as the site of an early, family-run industry, with buildings that offer rare insights into business practices and quality of life in a mid-nineteenth-century company town.

FARM AND DISTILLERY

The complex at West Overton grew out of the family farm established in 1803 by Henry Overholt, who had recently brought his family and others from Bucks County in the eastern part of Pennsylvania to Westmoreland County. The cluster of businesses eventually established by the family constitutes the major early example of industrial enterprise in the Township of East

WEST OVERTON
HABS No. PA-5654 (Page 2)

Huntington, and the surviving buildings are the earliest remaining examples in the area as well.¹ Nearly a third of the township businesses were begun and operated by the family. Separate buildings were constructed for a malt shop and a cooperage, in addition to the large flouring mill and distillery.² Furthermore, Abraham's brother Henry (and later Henry's son Martin) ran a weaving operation nearby sizable enough in 1850 to be called a "coverlid [coverlet] factory" by the assessors.

All the products of these businesses are the types, however, commonly secondary to the main business of agriculture on the typical early nineteenth-century family farm. Many farmers would augment their incomes in the off season with auxiliary craft skills--be it shoemaking or blacksmithing--and such shops were as small-scale as they were commonplace. The distilling business was well established in western Pennsylvania well before any Overholts arrived (as witnessed by the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794, centered at Brownsville, Fayette County), and the first property purchased by the Overholts, the 260 acres William Newell sold to Henry Overholt (father of Abraham) on June 7, 1803, could have contained a small farm still.³ In any event, the first tax records for the property in 1811 record 230 acres of land valued at \$1,840, five horses valued at \$125, six cows valued at \$48, and two stills with a 150-gallon capacity at \$112.50. With a net worth of \$2,125, the Overholt farm was already a substantial one and ranked in acreage in the top 17 percent of landowners in the township in 1811. The small capacity of two stills was well within the limits of a part-time family operation--a side line to the main farm.

In 1813 Henry Overholt's children and heirs sold the farm to two of his sons, Christian and Abraham, and full ownership passed to Abraham in 1818. He began the process of expanding the industrial enterprises immediately, increasing the capacity of the stills to 168 gallons in 1814, to 212 gallons in 1823, to 324 gallons in 1826, and to a "Distillery, 4 stills" in 1829.⁴ The evaluation for this distillery jumped from \$400 to \$1,000 only three years later in 1832, possibly indicating the construction of a "new stone building." A grist mill worth \$2,000 was first mentioned in the 1838 records, and a "new brick building house" (the mansion) was recorded the next year, in 1839.⁵ Despite the growing importance of the distillery, Abraham Overholt continued to be listed in the tax rolls as a "farmer" until 1857 (two years before building the large steam mill), after which he was called "old" or "retired" until his death in 1870. Only the census of 1860 called him a "manufacturer."

¹U.S. Census, Manufacturers, 1850.

²S. N. And D. G. Beers, Atlas of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: A. Pomeroy, 1867), 23; F. A. Davis, New Illustrated Atlas of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, 1876 with 1971 Supplementary Section (Rimersburg, PA: Pennsylvania Record Press, 1971; originally published by Reading Publishing Company, 1876), 51.

³Deed Book 9, page 163, Westmoreland County Courthouse, Greensburg, PA.

⁴Tax Records, Westmoreland County Courthouse, Greensburg, PA.

⁵In each case the actual construction was probably late in the preceding calendar year; the presently illegible datestone on the mansion house is said to read 1838.

Abraham Overholt rapidly and consistently expanded the industrial aspect of the farm. Despite his continuing designation as "farmer," it is clear that the transition away from agriculture alone and toward industrial enterprise had begun. The mention of a grist mill in 1850 is the first example of Abraham's expanding the family operation beyond distilling, vertically integrating that business to include the tasks prior and subsequent to the distillation itself: the grain must be chopped before it is cooked, and something must be done with the spent mash afterwards. To this end a grist mill allowed the Overholts to chop their own grain (thereby saving the expense of hauling their grain to Jacobs Creek, and then paying someone else to chop it); it also provided them with the supplementary income of grinding the flour, "middlings," "shorts," "bran," and other mill products for the neighborhood. The assessor did not record the source of power, but we can assume it was water. The records for 1850 and thereafter do specify steam.

The tax records also note a "malt house" for the first time in 1850, which the U.S. Census of Manufacturers listed as producing 7,000 hushels of malt in that year. Grain must be very dry and hard in order for it to be cut (ground or chopped) in a mill, but it must be softened with water (made into malt) before it will ferment. The building of the malt house gives further evidence of the increased capacity of the Overholt operation; this process would previously have been carried out in the distillery itself.⁶

The problem of the waste mash (malt after it is heated and ferments) was not solved until 1856, when "hog pens" were added to the tax assessment line for the distillery, also adding \$1,000 to its evaluation. The atlas maps show them as a long line extending south from the distillery, as built in 1859. This aspect of the works also turned a profit, for in addition to eating up the waste, the swine grew fat and could be sold. Between May 29 and September 24, 1862, the company ledger records that Abraham and Henry bought 249 stock hogs and sold them after they had nearly doubled in size.⁷

A cooper shop to make the barrels was present by at least 1850, when it produced 12,000 casks. The company ledger records only minor numbers of barrels being sold to locals, for more than enough of them were used by the distillery (2,750 barrels in 1850) and the flour mill (10,800 barrels). In 1850 the distillery was listed as entailing a capital investment of \$13,000, producing a gross income of \$17,990 and employing three men. The mill required an investment of only \$3,000, but brought in \$32,000.⁸

⁶Definitions and processes derived from Felicity Leung, Grist and Flour Mills in Ontario: From Millstones to Rollers, 1780-1880 (History and Archeology Publication #53, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Environment Canada, 1981.)

⁷Initially the hogs weighed an average of 139.7 lbs. apiece, and the Overholts paid an average of \$4.18 for them at 3 cents a pound. They generally sold them for the same price per pound, but by then the pigs weighed an average of 257.5 lbs, paying \$7.73, or a profit of \$3.55 per pig. Within the four months the firm spent \$1,040.61 for the 249 total stock, and sold 182 fattened hogs from West Overton, taking in \$1,406.55, for a profit of \$365.94 already. In addition, they sold another 162 hogs from Broad Ford for the inexplicably low rate of 3/4 cents a pound, pulling in \$1,296.75. These calculations are based on the entries for May 29, July 5, 12, August 22, 23, 28, and September 24, 1862, in the A. & H. S. Overholt Company Ledger, West Overton Museums Archive. This 1862 ledger shall hereafter be referred to as "Ledger."

⁸U.S. Census, Manufacturers, 1850.

In 1859 the firm added a large five-and-a-half-story brick building, combining the grist mill and distillery in one building. The building is proudly adorned with two inscriptions on the door lintels: one identifies the company and date: "A. & H. S. Overholt Co., Overton Mills, Built 1859"; the other names those responsible: "Built by D. P. Patterson, millwright; M. Miller, senr., carpenter; [Alex] Gilbert and [Andrew] Dillon, bricklayers." By 1870 the distillery had outstripped the flour mill in economic importance, producing \$40,512 gross whiskey income, as compared to \$25,000 for the mill.⁹ The mill and the distillery occupied distinct sections of the enlarged building, with whiskey at the south end (as even the sign on the building indicated as late as a photograph taken about 1890). They were described in the tax records on separate lines until 1874, after which the combined designation reverted to "grist mill" or "steam mill," despite an increase in whiskey revenue. The attention the assessors gave to the mill slackened in the very year that coke works were first mentioned, presaging the dominance of the coke industry.

The idea of integration of the whiskey distilling operations is interesting in two regards, first in its tangential relation to West Overton's most famous resident, and secondly in its source in Mennonite heritage. Integration is usually applied to the later capitalist expansions of big industry. Alfred D. Chandler describes this change in economic strategy as a managerial revolution that initially took place in the railroad business, and then was adopted by other industries, especially iron and steel.¹⁰ It is only coincidence that one of the captains of this latter industry, to whom such innovations are often in part attributed, was in fact the grandson of Abraham Overholt, Henry Clay Frick. Strong family traditions assert he was born in the springhouse of the mansion house, a small stone building identified as a dwelling on the Sanborn survey of whiskey distilleries of 1890.¹¹ Henry Clay Frick was 10 years old when the large

⁹U.S. Census, Manufacturers, 1870.

¹⁰Alfred D. Chandler, The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Belknap Press, 1977).

¹¹Family traditions recorded by Henry Clay Frick's nephew, Karl Frick Overholt, as the recollections of his mother, Maria, Henry Clay Frick's older sister, West Overton Museums Archives.

Sanborn's Survey of the Whiskey Warehouses of Pennsylvania . . ., 1894, revised in 1913. Henry Clay Frick's connection to Abraham Overholt is via his mother, Elizabeth Overholt, Abraham's daughter. She married John W. Frick, who was a miller at the flour mill. The marriage connection to the daughter of the founder (already a rich man by community standards) did not do J. W. Frick as much good as we might have imagined. Karl Frick Overholt records his grandfather's life itinerary to have included many stops, moving every two to four years until he was 44 years old, or after he had worked for the Overholts twenty years. Abraham clearly did not give him preferential treatment, despite his fondness for J. W.'s first daughter Maria. In fact, Abraham's will (probated 1870, Westmoreland County Courthouse, Greensburg) conspicuously omits any mention of John Frick, even though he gave \$2,000 (more than to anyone else) to Maria. The explanation for this hostility may be found in the circumstances of marriage itself: it took place on October 19, 1847, and Maria was born February 9, 1848, less than four months later.

As recorded by his grandson Karl Frick Overholt, John W. Frick's itinerary was:

1822, Feb. 23	Born at Adamsberg, Hempfield Township, Westmoreland County, PA
1823, Spring	Parents returned to South Huntington Township, where he grew up
1845	Became miller for Abraham Overholt, West Overton
1847, Oct. 19	Married Elizabeth Overholt
1847-51	Lived at Abraham Overholt's [springhouse]; Maria and Henry Clay Frick born there
1852-4	At Pleasant Unity, 3 miles northeast of Mt. Pleasant (Anna born there)
1855	At Abraham Overholt's West Overton (Aaron born there)

combination mill and distillery of his grandfather was built. He lived in West Overton during his early teenage years, and nearby throughout his youth. He had his first clerking job at the Christian S. Overholt Store in West Overton, and his second with the Martin Overholt Store in Mt. Pleasant. It is possible that he absorbed the benefits of controlling all aspects of an industrial or commercial process from his family, before applying it at such a larger scale in his own coke works, and then, at an even larger scale, with Andrew Carnegie and the steelworks.¹²

As capitalistic and aggressive as the Overholts' economic strategy may seem to be, at the level of Abraham Overholt's farm/distillery, it can also be seen as a direct outgrowth of the Mennonite farming heritage. The German immigrants to Pennsylvania have been cited as exemplary farmers ever since the eighteenth century in America, and the Mennonites in particular as innovators and progressives, having almost magically effective techniques, for nearly a century earlier in Europe. The concept of "stewardship" of the soil runs very deep in Mennonite tradition, dating to their experience in applying alpine dairying techniques to marginal lowland terrain after the Thirty Years War in Europe. They found that in making this transition the hay crops, which grew naturally in the mountains, needed to be seeded and nurtured with manure in order to survive in the lowlands. They also noticed the revitalizing effect of the legume hay crops such as clover on the soil. Thus the concepts of recycling wastes back into the production cycle, as fertilizer or profit, has a long heritage in the Overholts' Mennonite ancestry. Many of the processes integrated into Abraham's farm may be seen as just such recycling, especially the feeding of the waste to hogs.¹³

Even as they were expanding and industrializing the distilling and other businesses at West Overton, the farm, of which these businesses were a part, remained important and progressive as well. The company ledger for 1862 records two telling actions of David Holmes, a local farmer who sold his grain crop to the Overholt distillery and did some hauling, usually to Broadford, for them as well. On May 21, he sold \$40.66 worth of clover seed (surely a large amount) to the firm, which either used it to replenish its own fields or sold it to eastern markets--thus partaking in or enabling this process of passive fertilization. The company also had the latest farming machinery--a reaper. On July 10 Holmes needed a knife (costing \$6) to replace one on his

1856	At Jacob S. Overholt's farm, one mile west of Mt. Pleasant
1857-8	At Bixler (A. Overholt's) farm, near Independent School
1859	At Henry O. Stauffer farm, Stonerville (Edgar born there)
1860-62	At West Overton, opposite C. S. Overholt house and store (Sallie born there)
1863	At Henry Durstine's farm, above West Overton School, quarrying
1864-66	At Peter Sherrick's farm, below Overton School
1866-80	Bought Bixler farm, across from Independent School and lived there
1880	Sold Bixler farm and coal and moved to Ohio, buying "Maple Lane" farm, 5 miles north of Wooster, OH
1882	Moved to Bloomington, adjoining Wooster, OH
1888, Aug. 31	Died and buried in Wooster Cemetery

¹²John W. Oliver, "Henry Clay Frick, Pioneer-Patriot and Philanthropist, 1849-1919," and C. S. Wardley, "The Early Development of the H. C. Frick Coke Company," both in The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, 32 no. 3-4 (September 1949): 67-86. See also Leon Wolff, "The Battle at Homestead," an excerpt on Frick's participation in the labor dispute in his Lockout, The Story of the Homestead Strike, 1892; A Study of Violence, Unionism, and the Carnegie Steel Empire (New York: Harper and Row, 1965).

¹³Dr. Benjamin Rush, An Account of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: 1794); Vladimir Simkhovitch, "Hay and History," and "Rome's Fall Reconsidered," both in Towards an Understanding of Jesus (New York: Macmillan, 1921).

"Buckeye Reaper." A "Buckeye Mowing Machine" was listed in the inventory of Henry S. Overholt, along with a "bunching Machine," and a "patent boring machine." The reapers in particular were extremely advanced items in 1862, McCormick and Hussey having gotten their inventions to work effectively and into production as recently as 1852. Ivan Glick, a Mennonite and agricultural historian in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, has described its use that early as equivalent to a private helicopter today.¹⁴

DISTILLERY AND COMMUNITY

With construction of the large distillery building in 1859, the distillery aspect of the Overholt operations dominated the village of West Overton, physically as well as economically. As Abram Overholt's sons, nephews, and grandsons took over the business, they professionalized it. West Overton became stratified, as the Overholts emerged into a managerial class and their employees divided subtly into skilled workers and laborers. The quality of life among these classes will be examined through several lenses: income, expenses, personal possessions, food, donations, and even reading material. The village was ruled by fluctuating work patterns, balanced by fluctuating income and expenses. Ultimately, the work force itself fluctuated, exhibiting little permanence. The workers moved on, and the distillery community evolved into one dominated by coal and coke production.

The Overholt Company was first and foremost a family business. Abraham's son Henry S. Overholt was first called "Distiller" in the tax records in 1853, and joined with his father in partnership to form the A. & H. S. Overholt Company in 1854. He ran the works as "manager" after 1866 ("manufacturer" in the census) until both their deaths in 1870. A two-and-a-half-story brick house, crisply Greek Revival in style and with a ten-room extended "two-thirds Georgian" plan and a finished basement, was built for Henry about 1846; his brother Christian received a similar combination house and store in 1854.¹⁵ Henry's nephew Jacob O. Tinstman became head distiller by 1867, and took over the store from "Uncle Chriss" in 1865. Henry's son Benjamin F. Overholt became "manager" upon his father's death in 1870, and lived in his father Henry's house after his death, but removed to Scottdale. Cousin Christian S. R. Overholt became "assistant distiller" by 1867 and "manager" by 1876. His brother John S. R. Overholt was assistant distiller by 1867, while a third brother, Aaron S. R. Overholt, began as clerk in the mill by 1862, became "agent of Factory" by 1870, and managing partner after that, living in the mansion house after Abraham's widow's death in 1874. Benjamin's younger brother Abraham C. Overholt

¹⁴Interview with Ivan Glick, August 14, 1990. See also Steveson Witcomb Fletcher, Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Museum and Historic Commission, 1950-55), 29. Holmes' reaper and that listed in Henry S. Overholt's inventory were probably one and the same. Overholt's inventory included the company property, and although Holmes may have been charged for maintaining a reaper, he probably did not own it.

¹⁵ The innovative and social aspects of these buildings have been described in separate reports. See HABS No. PA-5655 and HABS No. PA-5656.

became director of the company by 1879. The company name thus changed from A. & H. S. Overholt Co. to A. S. R. Overholt & Co. to A. C. Overholt & Co.¹⁶

As part of their managerial expansion, the Overholts also established another distillery at Broadford, Fayette County, which produced 100 bushels of Old Overholt rye whiskey per day. As at West Overton, Abraham took on his sons and son-in-law as partners. By 1894 the complex included four brick warehouses, four cattle pens, fourteen frame double houses, a brick boarding house, and coke ovens. Whiskey production continued into the twentieth century, except for a hiatus during prohibition. In 1948 the Overholt Company was acquired by National Distillers, and Old Overholt whiskey is still made in Kentucky.¹⁷

When the patriarch Abraham entered his partnership in Overton Mills with his son Henry in 1854, the deed conveying the 1/2 interest in the whole mentioned the "houses, outhouses, griss marchant mill, distillery, barns, stables and *the village of West Overton* [emphasis added]." The New Illustrated Westmoreland County Atlas for 1876 provides a remarkable image of this village, with the mansion and family houses in the nearer foreground, and the prim dwellings of the workers marching up the hill to the horizon. Much of this image remains intact on the ground and in reasonable condition to this day.¹⁸

The majority of people living in the village at this time worked for and rented from the A. & H. S. Overholt Company.¹⁹ Only one family, Lloyd Shallenberger, probably another Overholt in-law, seems to have been an independent farmer, paying rent and selling a little grain.²⁰ The renting company employees ranged from Eli S. Hoover, chief miller (who made more than A. S. R. Overholt did as clerk) to J. W. Frick, the assistant miller who married Elizabeth Overholt, to Christian Haberly, who ran the malt house, to several coopers, to ordinary laborers and a watchman. In 1862 there was one man, Jacob Hauser, who dug coal. There were also several men who boarded, both at Henry S. Overholt's ample house and with employee renters, such as at cooper Jacob Kough's. These boarders included both artisans and laborers. During the harvest Theodore Harshman, recently set up in his own rental house, also took in several other Harshmans as boarders.

¹⁶These positions and dates are derived from the "Business Directory" in Beers, Atlas (1867), 23, and the census and tax occupational listings for the individuals named in the years between 1811 and 1920. U.S. census records are on microfilm in many libraries; the tax records are in the Westmoreland County Court House, Greensburg, PA.

¹⁷Christina Schmidlapp, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form for West Overton Historic District (1985), p. 3. Sanborn's Surveys of the Whiskey Warehouses of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, and New York (New York: Sanborn-Perris Map Co., 1894), 28.

¹⁸Davis, Atlas (1876), 53. The possible dates of construction of the village houses have been discussed in the "Physical History" section of the HABS report for Overholt Co. Worker's House B (HABS No. PA-5657).

¹⁹See Appendix A.

²⁰Ledger, March 24 and September 2, 1862.

WEST OVERTON
HABS No. PA-5654 (Page 8)

The West Overton records are dominated by males, as no women were employed at the mill or distillery. The only woman to be listed as a head of household was Margaret Hait in 1870, whose occupation was listed as "tollgate keeper," and Rebecca Kough ran a boarding house after her husband died. Single women often worked as domestic servants, living at their place of employment. Mostly, though, women's work and fortunes were closely tied to their husbands, and vice versa. No man could run a house by himself; each had a wife, or else he boarded with a couple. The women cared not only for their husbands, but also for four or five children, various relatives, and sometimes single boarders. A couple's income and expenses were united, as were their possessions. The only woman listed as owning real estate was Tinsman E. Gardner, whose husband, Joseph, a farmer, owned none in 1870. West Overton had about an equal number of men and women in 1860, single male laborers being offset by single female domestic servants. Despite the company records, West Overton was not a village of males alone.²¹

An analysis of the income and expenses of selected residents of West Overton suggests the social hierarchy that was developing in the village.²² For while the Overholts themselves were gradually but ineluctably setting themselves apart from their workers by simple virtue of the mass of their wealth, a skilled class was also pulling away from the lowest, the simple laborers. These skilled workers were specialized in their tasks and included those who were paid wages, even being docked for time lost, as well as artisans who worked by the piece. Included in this group were the millers and malter, the engineer who ran the steam power for the whole, and the coopers, who were paid by the barrel. The millers at West Overton were making as much money as the lower order of "managers," and the artisans were not far behind. Both groups lagged slightly behind the local farmers, especially the ones who hauled for the Overholts on the side.

For instance, the young A. S. R. Overholt, who was later to direct the company's fortunes into coal and coke production, and lived in the mansion after Mariah Stauffer Overholt, Abraham's widow, died, was paid a salary of \$30 a month as clerk.²³ The very same amount was paid to Jacob Booher, who tended the engine at the mill and owned his own house and ten acres nearby, and to John W. Frick, the sudden in-law who tended the mill.²⁴ Christian Haverly was paid \$28.50 a month to tend the malt house, and Eli S. Hoover, head miller, got \$41.66.²⁵ (The total amounts of their incomes as listed in the chart vary slightly due to extra sources, such as slaughtering a cow or selling a wagon.) Thus the total income for miller Frick came to \$178 and that for cooper Daniel Nicewanger to \$177.59; other coopers actually made slightly more, Theodore Harshman and Fred Hunker both in the mid \$180's. Even Jacob Hauser the coal digger—a less intellectual metier than running an engine, say, but nevertheless specialized and consistent—was able to make a comparable income of \$173.96 for this same six months.

²¹U.S. Census, Population Schedules. See Appendix B.

²²See Appendix C.

²³Ledger, June 7, 1862.

²⁴Ledger, April 5 and April 9, 1862.

²⁵Ledger, March 29 and October 1, 1862.

By contrast, the laborers made substantially less. Peter Rowan, for instance, did general labor, fed the hogs, and later in the year became "watchman" at the mill. He made \$21 a month feeding and \$22 watching, but his total recorded income for the six months of April to October was only \$56, due to an inconsistent pace.²⁶ Another Fred Hunker (a miller, not the cooper) sometimes tended the engine and was paid extra for it, but was normally a laborer, paid variably, sometimes at \$24 a month and sometimes as low as \$16.²⁷ David Wurtz, of whom we know nothing else, was paid at the rate of only \$12.50 per month for his few days' work; perhaps he was a teenager, for Daniel Nicewanger's son Dan (aged 16 in 1862) was paid at the rate of \$11.50 a month for thirteen days of feeding the hogs.²⁸ David Hepler's son Emanuel was paid only \$6.50 a month; surely he was younger yet.²⁹ Jacob Leasure, a boarder at Kough's who made \$96 for the previous six months as watchman at the mill, made only \$82.46 (a full \$100 less than the artisans), even with extra days of overtime (our word) paid at a higher rate (\$.75 a day). Intermittent work kept fellow-boarder Daniel Reece's carpentry earnings down to \$74.43 for the six-month period; his rate was \$.87 a day, which could have amounted to \$22.60 a month and \$135 for the six months at full steady work.

Skill and experience distinguished individuals within the profession, or at least the coopers. Daniel Nicewanger, at age 51, was clearly the master cooper of the village, making an average of \$31.05 a month. This income was only marginally greater than other coopers; in fact, he was paid at the same rate per barrel (\$.60) as the others. However, his experience was greater and he was given the unusual orders that came into the shop: the "whiskey tub" and the "great tub," the "6 rectifiers," the "low wine tub at \$2.50," the "five gallon kegs" and the "half barrel," the "21 butter kegs," or "3 horse baskets," or "molasses stands" and "molasses barrels."³⁰ Other coopers made an occasional molasses barrel, but most made whiskey barrels, at \$.55 apiece until late May and at \$.60 thereafter, day in and day out.³¹

The demand for barrels at both the distillery and the flour mill was such that the company also bought barrels from farmers who lived outside of town, as for instance Joseph Pore and Weldon R. Strickler. The latter came into the mills regularly every two weeks with exactly twenty-five "iron bound whiskey barrels" for which he was paid \$40.00.³² Strickler then spent the same amount, often to the penny, on supplies of flour and horse feed, as well as hoop iron,

²⁶Ledger, April 4, 1862.

²⁷Ledger, April 2 and 5, 1862.

²⁸Ledger, October 20, May 1, 1862.

²⁹Ledger, October 18, 1862.

³⁰Ledger, March 1, March 8, March 22, May 17, May 24, June 21, July 26, September 20, 1862.

³¹Ledger, September 27, 1862 (Hunker).

³²The rate for these barrels and for Pore's were \$1.60 apiece, a full dollar above those from the shop, whether "iron bound" or not; he probably supplied his own raw materials.

rivets, or even indigo, ginger or vermifuge, each item earmarked for either himself or another (presumably a neighbor, distant like himself).

Individual expenditures also show some indication of the quality of life these wages afforded. Though the proportions of money spent on the staple foods of flour and meat are reasonably equivalent in the three groups, splurging on other foods such as sugar or even apples and cider is not. Spending on wheat flour and corn meal ranged from 5.3 percent of total expenditures by Eli Hoover, head miller and highest wage earner, to 13 percent by Fred Hunker, cooper. Spending on meat seems to be based more on personal preference than on income; though both laborers on the chart (Reece and Rowan) bought very little, several of the coopers and Eli Hoover again bought small proportions of meat, as well. Spending for other foods, even such necessities as salt, varied with class: the two laborers' "luxuries" are miniscule percentages (1 percent and .3 percent of total expenses), while most of the others allotted between 3 percent and 6 percent of their expenses to these goods.³³

There are very few references in the ledger to fresh fruit and none to fresh vegetables; one must assume that even the renting laborers had kitchen gardens for their own use. Meat was available intermittently; a hog, heifer or calf was slaughtered (usually by Henry Ridenour, cooper, who got an extra \$1 for it) approximately once a week in high summer, but about once a month otherwise.³⁴ Purchases of salt just after buying meat probably indicated an effort to stretch the meat out by thus preserving it. The beef seemed to be available all year, but the veal was concentrated in late summer, and the one hog in October, in tune with seasonal growth cycles.³⁵

One other product showed a similar seasonal spurt in consumption: whiskey. "Normal" drinking seemed to range from none for Ridenour and Daniel Nicewanger to about one gallon a month for Fred Hunker and Christian Haberly; Abraham Overholt himself was said to have been sparing in his libations.³⁶ But from mid-June to late July, whiskey-buying skyrocketed, with some individuals buying from four to ten gallons at once. People were probably using seasonal fruits (not recorded, possibly some foraged) and making flavored liquors or "bounce" for use all year. A pair of entries for H. S. Overholt makes this habit clear: on July 5 and 15 he bought cherries (spending \$4.17 total at a time when a hearty meal cost \$.10), and on the latter day spent another \$7.17 on twenty gallons of whiskey "to make bounce."³⁷

³³Some of the variations in incomes and expenses could be due to several factors, including that individuals made some purchases of foods at other sources, or even according to personality. John W. Frick bought his horse feed virtually diurnally (in "dribs and drabs"), but Eli Hoover, who was at the mill on a daily basis as well as Frick, bought his supplies in larger amounts, and seldom.

³⁴The dates recorded for meat sales are April 11, May 3, 21, June 28, July 8, 14, August 1, 9, 16, 23, 29, September 4, 9, 16, October 3, 1862. The ledgers have not yet been examined for the winter months. No sales of meat took place in March.

³⁵Ledger, July 5 and 8, 1862 (Ridenour).

³⁶Karl F. Overholt, family diaries, West Overton Museums Archives.

³⁷Liquor purchases recorded in the 1862 Ledger included:

June 13, 14	Fred Hunker	1 gallon each day
" 16	George Fry	4 gallons

Local farmers were quite prosperous, making as much as \$88 in a month if they both sold grain to the Overholts and hauled the whiskey away for them as well. Daniel Troxell did just that, hauling between eight and twelve barrels every four or five days in late spring and selling grain then, too. His income peaked in May (\$88), but averaged \$51 a month, considerably more than even the most highly paid professional in the village (Eli Hoover, head miller, \$41.66).

Despite the disparity in incomes and expenses between the skilled workers and laborers in the village, those who came out ahead financially were evenly distributed among the two groups; in other words, most of them managed to live within their means. While it is tempting to view the profits as savings, the seasonal fluctuations of earnings meant that these profits may have been only a hedge against less employment in the winter months. Savings/debt is shown in the last column of the chart in Appendix D; on average the people analyzed were able to save \$11.11. Among the poorest, Peter Rowan was substantially in debt at the end of the six months, but Jacob Leasure (who had few expenses as boarder) broke virtually even (saved 34 cents), and Daniel Reece, the laborer just learning the carpenter trade, managed to save \$14.80. Most of the skilled workers saved (up to \$76.49 for Fred Hunker), although Jacob Booher, who tended engine and owned his own house, lost \$16, and cooper Daniel Nicewanger lost only \$6.17.

The biggest debt incurred was by cooper Theodore Harshman: \$63.38. However, the particular period of analysis coincided exactly with Harshman's setting up a house of his own: in February and March he paid board to Nicewanger every four or five days (unlike those who paid Rebecca Kough in six-month installments, indicating he had just moved to the village), but starting in April he paid rent (\$6.25 per three months) to the firm. On April 4 he bought a "cook stove and trimmings" and "8 joints of stove pipe," paying a substantial \$28.67 for the lot. On April 15 he cajoled two people into fronting the money for furniture: he borrowed \$8.87 from cooper Thomas McLain for a "set of Chairs" (\$5), a "rocking chair" (\$1.37), and a "dough tray" (\$3.50), chipping in his last remaining dollar to the total of \$9.87; he also borrowed \$34 from a John Smithly for a "bureau" (\$14), a "corner cupboard" (\$10), a "table" (\$5), and a "bedstead" (\$5). The full total of these setup costs come to \$72.54, or a little more than his debt six months later. Had he not had these one-time costs, he would have saved \$9.16.

Thus it is clear that most of the workers in the village were making a living, and not working themselves into debt. This accords well with the situation A. F. C. Wallace described for

" 17	James Crosby	5 1/2	"
" 20	Jack Smith	4	"
" 26	Wm Douglas	10	"
" "	James White	7 1/2	"
" 28	Solomon Howard	5	"
" 30	John Fretz	6	"
July 5	Wm Pool	2 1/2	"
" "	Daniel Felgars	5	"
" "	Samuel Shupe	5	"
" 8	Samuel Detwiler	6	"
" 16	David Holmes	5 1/2	"

In addition, Jacob Zundael and Wm. Thorndel each bought 1 to 3 barrels whiskey (21 gallons each) "contracted for new year"; the regular dealers, Shippen & Detwiler, also continued their purchases. The above list consists mostly of local farmers (Crosby rented directly from Abraham Overholt in the late 1860s), who were generally rather prosperous.

a comparable early industrial community in eastern Pennsylvania: the cotton textile village of Rockdale. It contrasts sharply to the picture Billy Smith has described for artisans in urban Philadelphia in the eighteenth century; his evidence indicates that shoemakers and cordwainers in that city at that time were just scraping by.³⁸

The greatest disparity in income and quality of life in the village was between the workers--both skilled and unskilled--and the managers, that is, the owning Overholts. The 1870 census recorded Abraham Overholt's real estate at a value of \$198,000 and his personal estate at \$202,000, while his partner, his son Henry, had \$137,000 worth of real estate. Such vast wealth was in stark contrast to their employees, who owned no real estate and whose personal estate was measured in three digits.

The family's legends of the managerial class include several anecdotes suggesting Abraham Overholt's continuing Mennonite faith, his generosity, his sobriety, and his fairness. In one of these, for instance, he fell into a cellar hole on a Pittsburgh sidewalk, but refused to sue the negligent party. He supported the establishment of public schools in the township and contributed real money as well, making a \$200 donation the first entry in the 1862 ledger; and was very likely a founding partner in the Western Pennsylvania Classical and Scientific Institute in Mt. Pleasant (C. S. Overholt and B. F. Overholt were on the Board by 1880).³⁹ Henry S. Overholt continued the family tradition of charity, subscribing a dollar "to buy an arm for a soldier [in Brownsville]" and more substantially paid \$725.31 "to Anne Carpenter for maintaining the children of Thomas Carpenter, decd."⁴⁰ But it has also recently been pointed out that Abraham's avid interest in politics (he had portraits of the presidents Adams, Jefferson and Monroe on his walls), his coolness to traditional Mennonite practices such as footwashing, and even the success of his distilling and other commercial enterprises--his entrepreneurialism, in short--were fundamentally against the grain of Mennonite culture and contributed directly to the decline of that traditional community.⁴¹ As entrepreneurs and businessmen the drift away from Mennonite values was ineluctable; none of the Overholt children joined the faith of their father, and certain of their grandchildren may be said to have violated those tenets profoundly (e.g., H. C. Frick's role in the violence at Homestead).

The ideological change must surely also have been becoming obvious on the ground, as well. Certainly the contrast between the villagers' houses and the contents of the Overholts' "managerial class" houses could not have escaped anyone: Abraham Overholt's inventory of personal possessions stretched to 119 lots, filling at least fourteen separate spaces and amounting

³⁸ Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Industrial Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 60-64. Wages in the Rockdale factories in 1850 (\$14-\$18 a month) were comparable to the Overton laborers in 1862; rents were similarly incredibly low. For Philadelphia, see Billy G. Smith, "Struggles of the 'Lower Sort': The Lives of Philadelphia's Laboring People, 1750-1800" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1981), 73 ff.

³⁹ Ledger, February 17, 1862.

⁴⁰ Ledger, September 6 and 30, 1862.

⁴¹ Karl Overholt Diary, West Overton Museums Archives; see also Levi Miller, "The Growth and Decline of Mennonites near Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, 1790-1890," *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* 13 (October 1990): 2-15.

to \$3,887.05. Peter Cruse, the head miller who died in the house next to the store nineteen years later, had seventeen items worth \$62.50. Abraham's possessions included eight items each worth more than twice Cruse's entire inventory, including a piano (\$350), a dining room cupboard (thought to be the corner cupboard still remaining in the basement front room, always the dining room; \$100), a sewing machine (\$50), a new huggy (\$250), a pair of horses including the favorite bay named "Horse" and the favorite grey, "Charlie" (\$125 apiece), three very expensive cows (\$61 apiece compared to Cruse's cow which cost \$25), four \$50 steers, and his gold watch and chain, worth \$175.⁴²

Henry S. Overholt's inventory is even more lengthy than his father's, though the personal property itself (exclusive of the mill furniture, livestock, wagons and equipment) totaled just over a third of his father's amount. But it too contained unexpectedly luxuriant items, such as a bed worth \$85 alone, a "lounge" (\$20), a "marble stand and fixtures" (\$20), a "regulator" (\$30), a "Chronometer" (\$50), paintings (\$.80) and household machines such as a cookstove (\$40, compared to Harshman's \$26 stove), a "wringer" (\$3) and a "washing machine" (\$10) and a "bath tub" (\$2).⁴³ Though Christian Overholt and Jacob Tinstman both moved out of the store well before their deaths (and thus their inventories have not been inspected) we know they also had their share of luxuries. On July 3, 1862, Christian spent \$77 on upholstery for chairs and window blinds, bought by Henry in Pittsburgh. He also bought some silver spoons, Wedgwood dishes (an "ironsides chapoo") and a "crotch mahogany" table, all from the Grandfather Overholt estate sale.⁴⁴ Jacob Tinstman also had two gold watches, and grandchildren and grand-nephews B. F. Overholt, A. S. R. Overholt, C. S. R. Overholt, and J. S. R. Overholt all had them by 1871. As had Abraham and Henry, of course, by 1875 Tinstman also had his own carriage (an enclosed vehicle which was much more of a status symbol than a mere buggy, which they also had) and was assessed an extra \$100 for "furniture" in 1879. At age 22 Benjamin Franklin Overholt, already master (with his widowed mother) of his father's house and estate, was taxed for a "sulkey" of his own.

All this must be compared to the lesser holdings of the employees and tenants. The tax records for them have only been incompletely examined, but a few can be representative: Jacob Booher (engineer at mill) owned his house and so has the most extensive tax list (1860): "labor," \$75; ten acres, \$350; one horse, \$12; and four or five cows, \$100, for a total of \$462. Daniel Nicewanger (or Niswonger) was taxed as a cooper, valued at \$150, due to his expertise. He also had a cow valued at \$15 for a total worth of \$165. Though Fred Hunker was clearly a cooper by 1862, in 1860 he was assessed as a laborer; he also had a cow, valued at \$10, for a total of \$85.

⁴²Abraham did hold off buying the watch for several years after his children both had them (three years after Christian, his youngest, and ten years after Henry had one). The watches were enough of an extravagance that the tax assessors noted them and taxed them year in and year out, only to have someone (an Overholt?) cross the evaluation off the list and recalculate lower taxes virtually every time. But in the end the tax man did decide such abundance should be charged and added a line (for Abraham and Henry both, in 1868) for "excess Furniture." Given the total personal estates of \$3,887 and \$1,376, respectively, the extra assessments of a mere \$300 for this "lot" now seem downright gentle.

⁴³An analysis of this inventory with an eye to room use has been included in the HABS report for the Henry S. Overholt house itself (HABS No. PA-5655).

⁴⁴Karl Overholt Diary.

WEST OVERTON
HABS No. PA-5654 (Page 14)

By 1880 Peter Cruse had become head miller and was living in the house next to the Jacob Tinstman Store. The inventory taken after his death in 1889 listed a mere seventeen items. The implications for room use have been discussed in the HABS report for the Overholt Co. Worker's House B, but the full list deserves to be recorded here:

1 sword	\$.25
1 rocker	1.50
1 bed and bedding [sic]	10.00
6 chairs	1.50
1 clock	1.00
1 bed and bedding	7.00
1 rocker	.50
1 bureau	.25
1 bed and bed tick	1.50
1 bed and bedding	4.00
1 bed " "	5.00
1 sink	3.00
1 looking [sic]	.25
pictures	.25
Kitchen safe	1.00
kitchen chairs	.50
1 cow	<u>25.00</u>
	\$62.50

This list, as minimal as it is, nevertheless contains two items of sentimental and esthetic value. The most obvious are the "pictures," worth more than a quarter of Henry S. Overholt's lot of "8 paintings (\$.80);" the "sword" is more likely a memento than a defensive weapon. Though the preponderance of the items are beds, there is also a clock, another status object.

Other village inhabitants lived into their 80's and had moved to other places such as Scottdale or even Greensburg before they died, so their inventories reflect their greater accumulation, later in life. Even so, the inventories' relative paucity late in life can confirm the decedents' limited conditions earlier, while at West Overton. Jacob Hauser, who dug coal in 1862, had become a chicken farmer in Mt. Pleasant Township when he died at the age of 80. He was the most successful (in terms of living conditions), having by then a personal estate of \$800 (at 1905 dollars, much devalued since 1860). It included ninety lots of items (70 chickens and 10 ducks among them); one third of these lots were for furniture in at least five rooms (including a "spare room") in the house.

Henry M. Ridenour had an estate of \$451.45 when he died in Scottdale in 1915, aged 81. His inventory contained fifty-eight lots in three "bedrooms," a "living room" and a "parlor," a "dining room," a "kitchen" and an "upstairs hall." There was no indication of his occupation later in life, but it must have been sedentary: there were no tools recorded whatsoever, but he did have a postal album, eleven "pictures," two "large decorated pillows," "carpet runners," a "bed lounge," cherry and mahogany "bureaus," and, surely a sentimental holdover, a "spinning wheel." Two of his "bedrooms" had no beds anymore; he had apparently already given them to his children.

WEST OVERTON
HABS No. PA-5654 (Page 15)

Fred Hunker was in minimal circumstances when he died in East Greensburg in 1903 at the age of 83. His inventory listed a mere fifteen lots of personal possessions, amounting to only \$46. However, some of this apparent penury may have been by choice, for mortgages and notes to several people and cash in Barclay Bank brought the full estate to \$7,308. All of the above "success stories" owned clocks and sewing machines at their deaths.

Inventories for two of Rebecca Kough's boarders of 1862 can be found. Both had moved away, survived until 1918 and advanced age, and had money in banks or bonds. Nevertheless, they both seem to have been in the most limited circumstances of all the villagers we have been tracking. Jacob Leasure, the sometime watchman, boiler cleaner, harvester, and general laborer, had, by 1918, moved to Hempfield Township, and owned \$400 in shares of the "Provident Collateral" and "Indepent [sic] Pub. Co." His total worth (including real estate?) came to \$2,585. David Kough (not Rebecca's son) had money and coke bonds amounting to \$2,351.22. By choice or neccessity their personal possessions were indeed meager, however:

David Kough:

1 bedstead	\$2.50
1 bureau	3.00
8 chairs	3.00
1 chiffonier	5.00
1 mattress	2.00
1 washstand	1.00
5 pcs furnt	5.00
1 piece carpet	5.00
9 chairs	5.00
1 ext. table	<u>10.00</u>
	\$41.50

Jacob Leasure:

1 kitchen cupboard	\$3.00
1 cook stove	4.00
1 cupboard	1.00
cooking utensils	1.00
1 center table	.75
2 rockers	.50
2 chairs	.25
1 sewing machine	4.00
1 couch	.10
1 carpet	2.50
1 clock	.25
3 prs curtains	.60
1 bed and bedding	5.50
1 dresser	2.00
2 stands	.20
1 bed and bedding	<u>4.00</u>
	\$29.65

Other indices to the social divisions in the village, particularly between the workers and the managerial Overholts, may be found in the 1862 A. & H. S. Overholt Company ledger. If the distinction between the artisans and the laborers in the matter of meat consumption was subtle, between them and the Overholts, it was not. On July 8, 1862, Daniel Nicewanger bought \$.78 worth of beef; H. S. Overholt bought just over five times as much at \$3.91. The exact lists are worth comparing, if only for their visual impact:

WEST OVERTON
HABS No. PA-5654 (Page 16)

Nicewanger:

7 lbs. beef @ 8 1/2 cts/lb= [good quality]	.59
8 1/2 lbs. @ 2 cts/lb.= [offal quality]	.17

totals: 15 1/2 lbs	.76
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H. S. Overholt:

5 lbs. @ 9 cts/lb.[top quality]=	.45
5 lbs. @ 9=	.45
10 1/2 lbs. @5=	.52
12 3/4 lbs. @7=	.89
10 lbs. @6=	.60
5 1/4 lbs. @5=	.25
13 lbs. @3=	.39
5 3/4 lbs. @4=	.23
5 3/4 lbs. @2=	.11 1/2

68 lbs	\$3.91
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In other words, the master cooper Nicewanger bought more than half of his meat at the lowest grade, and Henry S. Overholt, company partner, bought just over a quarter of his at those qualities.

Voluntary participation in public works provides another index of social well being (and separation) in the village. While the owners did indeed contribute most to such projects, public-spiritedness was not limited to them alone. The list of subscribers "to building a fence and a privy at school," gathered on June 19, 1862, included the owners and several of the prosperous farmers in the vicinity, as well as two West Overton coopers and the coal digger:

C. S. Overholt:	\$15.00
H. S. Overholt:	10.00
Jacob Sherrick (farmer at top of hill):	4.00
Lloyd Shallenberger (farmer, rents in West Overton):	1.00
Wm. McMaster (local farmer):	3.50
Daniel Felgar (local farmer):	5.00
John R Mumau (local farmer):	7.50
Rev. John D. Overholt (farmer, nephew to A. O.):	2.50
Daniel Nicewanger (master cooper):	1.50
Henry M. Ridenour (cooper):	1.25
Jacob Hauser (coal digger):	.50

A subscription to a bounty (subscribed on September 27, 1862, for the capture of an unspecified criminal) presented greater stakes and therefore greater generosity. Nevertheless, it too included members of the working-class community among its contributors, albeit this time limited to the better paid among them. The relative amounts give vivid evidence of the economic stratification within the village:

A. Overholt	\$100
H. S. Overholt	100
A. O. Overholt (farmer, relative)	25
E. S. Hoover (head miller)	5
J. W. Frick (assistant miller)	5
John Fretz (local farmer)	20
Jon F. Stauffer (local farmer)	10
Martin Loucks (local farmer)	25
Jno. Fretz (tailor)	3

Subscription to newspapers and the education and worldly interests it implies were characteristic of the managerial elite, but were not limited to them alone. Abraham Overholt subscribed to the Herald and the Republican (\$3) and H. S. Overholt subscribed to the Chronicle (\$5). But John W. Frick, his assistant miller, also subscribed to the Herald (\$6) and even Peter Rowan, who labored at feeding the hogs and later watching the mill, who had the cheapest rent in the village (\$1 a month) and was in debt (\$34.60 over the six months of summer 1862), also subscribed to an unspecified paper, for \$2.50.⁴⁵

Although the Overholts distinguished themselves as managers through their material goods and expenditures, and although their enlarged and efficient five-story mill and distillery building implied an efficient, integrated company, the seasonal nature of the distillery business prevented a highly regulated work organization. Abraham Overholt took strong personal control of the business, and ensured that family control continued after his death by entrusting all managerial positions to close family. But because of the nature of the work and perhaps the Overholts' own preferences, many of the great changes to workers' lives instituted by nineteenth-century industry were absent at West Overton.⁴⁶

The Overholts apparently did not adhere to the intense regulation of the work day, represented by factory clock-time. Though Abraham Overholt and several other people (including workers) in the village had clocks, they were evidently used as status items rather than to regulate the working day. There is no evidence that there ever was a cupola or bell on the mill building--the clearest symbol of a clock-regulated industry.⁴⁷

All present evidence for work patterns in 1862 indicates life still followed the irregular cycles of the organic tasks. Daniel Troxell (among others) hauled between eight and fifty barrels of whiskey or flour to either Greensburg or Broadford, every three to eleven days. Although this may reflect orders, not actual production, it suggests that this, too, was irregular. The 1870 census of manufacturers asserted that the distillery even then was in operation only eleven months of the year; a seasonal break in routine was enforced.

The artisan coopers certainly worked at their own rhythms. Even those who produced only whiskey barrels did so at variable speeds: Fred Hunker made between eight and thirteen barrels every six to eight days, during March and early April. In July and August he spent three-and-a-half to five days harvesting and produced between one and twelve whiskey barrels.

⁴⁵Ledger, May 6 and April 17, 1862.

⁴⁶One aspect of nineteenth-century industry was child labor. There is little evidence that the Overholts employed children as labor beyond what was normal on a farm: only one child was recorded as working steadily in 1862 (David Hepler's son, Emanuel "by 6 months...@ \$6.50 a month...\$39.00," and both he and the other children mentioned in the ledgers were engaged in intermittent farm work (Dan Nicewanger's son, Dan, "by 13 days feeding hogs @ rate of 11.50 pr month," and "by 1 day planting corn .\$.50"). (Ledger, October 18, May 1 and 8, 1862.) There is no evidence that children could or did work in either the mill or distillery. By contrast, eight boys (under age 18) worked at the coal and coke works in 1880. U.S. Census, Population Schedules, 1880.

⁴⁷The only reference to a bell anywhere in the documents is to one worth only \$.75, situated among dining equipment in the inventory of H. S. Overholt, and probably used there to summon domestic servants during a meal.

Similarly Jacob Hauser, the coal digger, produced between 975 and 1200 bushels of coal from the bank during March and April, but slacked to 600 or 800 bushels in July and August, when he put in half a day of harvesting. During harvest almost anybody could be hired on for a day or a few, and people sometimes took in extra boarders at this time: Theodore Harshman took in a Joab and a P. Harshman for twenty-eight days, and a George Harshman for eighteen-and-a-half days in July and August.⁴⁸

Laborer Peter Rowan had the most irregular work habits of all. He worked steadily for February and March "feeding the hogs," then was paid for between three-and-a-half and thirteen days "labor" in April and May, took in a boarder for one day, then started "watching" at the mill in June. He did this for about a month, being paid for twenty-two- and fifteen-day stints, as if it could terminate at any time. Apparently it did, for he was paid for only two or three days' work (including one to clean the boiler) until August 16, when he disappeared for over a month. He returned on September 27, to buy a load of coal, and was paid for a day and a half of "cutting off corn fodder @.75...\$1.12 1/2" on October 1.

Initially both the flouring and the distilling were part of the agricultural cycle, and thus the rhythms of production followed greater seasonal cycles as well. When the grain was ready the company bought lots of it.⁴⁹ Similarly, the wages of all the villagers show a seasonal fluctuation characteristic of the agricultural order. This can be shown in an examination of the monthly incomes.⁵⁰ Most of the villagers started low in March and April, rose to a peak in May and June (the spring busy period), slid a bit in mid-summer (July), peaked again in September and dropped off (some sharply) in October. Daniel Troxel, the local farmer who both sold grain to and hauled whiskey for the company, confirmed this pattern but in an exaggerated way, for his farmer's income in April and May soared well above the artisan and professional average. The most conspicuous departures from this pattern were with Peter Rowan, whose irregularities seem not to be related to the seasons, and the Kough family. Jacob Kough, the cooper, appears to have been dying in early 1862, for he made very few barrels and then disappeared from the ledger books by June. Even before his death, however, his wife was making his purchases for him, and afterwards she took in more boarders than ever (see list above). This is reflected in the sudden spurt of income in July, leveling off to an average as the individuals signed up for long-term hitches. Though this gross income did not reflect her profits (she must, of course feed all these people, as well as housekeep), she did appear to do better economically after her husband was gone.

Another index of the change in the social quality of life is in the nature and exactitude of the accounting system. In many aspects pre-industrial life was based on trust, on people in face to face circumstances all cooperating in mutual support. Rosy as this notion may be (and faltering, perhaps, in performance), it was an ideal concept of some power, and more particularly so for the

⁴⁸Ledger, August 5, 1862.

⁴⁹Ledger, June 13 and 21, 1862.

⁵⁰See Appendix D.

Pietist and Sectarian groups of Pennsylvania, such as Mennonites. Mutual loans were numerous, and promissory notes exceedingly vague as to the terms and timetables of repayment.

In this regard, the Overton community did adhere to a somewhat informal accounting system, despite the size and modernity of the operations.⁵¹ The Overholts were the overwhelming economic force in the neighborhood and made loans and "assumptions" frequently. It appears that the employees were credited with their salaries to the books and could make withdrawals in goods, without actually seeing the cash for long periods. The frequent annotations "to cash" represent withdrawals from this surrogate bank (the company) to make elsewhere what purchases might be necessary. Though the ledgers themselves were kept with exactitude, accounting amounts for flour, meat and horse feed to the quarter penny upon occasion, the time frame was vague. Wages were paid on a two- or three-month basis, but sometimes not until five-and-a-half or six months had elapsed; workers also paid rent on a quarterly basis, or maybe in six months, if need be.⁵² The bill to the C. S. Overholt store (dry goods and cloth) was also tallied on rent day, but the debt itself could slide indefinitely. There appears to be no final accounting, with people slipping in and out of the picture (witness Peter Rowan) with no grand tabulation. In some cases records are made rather after the fact ("Thomas Hodges, by 5 1/2 days labor the previous week") or before ("Joseph Hepler . . . to 1 barrel of flour to be paid after harvest . . . \$4.75").⁵³ And in one case a record is finally made for something that had happened a while before: "Henry O. Stauffer, by Eight Dollars, it being for the Liberty of hauling logs through his field a few years ago." There is even an occasional suggestion of barter, the ultimate in pre-capitalist economic transactions: "Henry S. Overholt, to flour to [Joseph E. or Peter] Pore for cherries--10 1/2 gallons . . . \$2.10," or "H. S. Overholt, to flour and whiskey for cherries . . . \$2.07."⁵⁴

Cumulatively the ledgers indicate that the community present in the village and doing business with the A. & H. S. Overholt [Flour Mill and Distillery] Company in 1862 was the kind of tightly knit, face-to-face group that we can only imagine today. In a tally of the total number of transactions at the mill during the month of August, very few names (just under 7 percent) cannot be located on the local scene, with 89 of them Overholts, 169 from the village of West Overton, 208 from the township of East Huntington, and only 35 unknown. In ten of the non-local cases, the parties were out-of-town businesses with whom the Overholts dealt, such as Farmers Deposit Banking Co.; the Branch House, Pittsburgh; the Iron City Bank; Hailman Rahm & Co., Pittsburgh; their wholesale whiskey dealers, Shippen & Detwiler; McSwigin; or Cyrus Walton and Jeremiah Gilchrist, the wholesale hog dealers. That leaves a possible twenty-five people coming into the mill, out of 501 visits during the month of August, who may not have been either a neighbor or a regular business contact.

⁵¹The books have not been thoroughly analyzed from a business point of view, so the data at this point is still somewhat impressionistic, but certain behaviors do seem to be clear.

⁵²Ledger, June 30, 1862 (Ridenour).

⁵³Ledger, August 30 and July 15, 1862.

⁵⁴Ledger, July 5 and 15, 1862.

Furthermore, the people of West Overton were alike, to the extent that nearly all were born in Pennsylvania. In 1860, there were just seven people (out of a total of 106) born elsewhere, and all of them were from the same town in Germany. Ten years later the village was still predominantly Pennsylvania-born, except for one child born in Indiana. There were no foreigners.⁵⁵

But however cozy a picture this might be, it does not mean that people were servilely content to stay put. Although the community might have been familiar, the skills of the factories were not considered permanent vocations, as agriculture still was, nor did they define people's identities. The job one was doing was a means to an end, and the means could be changed at will. For some, the artisans and professionals, the ends desired were still the satisfaction of individual ownership of a farm. For others, such as the managers, the ends might be an even greater enterprise, another manufacturing challenge to conquer. But between 1860 and 1880 virtually everyone in the village, the entire artisanal community and much of the managing family, had moved on. The capitalism and enterprise of some provided not only jobs for others, but instilled them with the idea and means of mobility, which translated as the ability for some, even, to get back to the farm.

Though there was a change of generations with the Overholts, with both Grandfather Abraham and Henry S. dying in 1870, this was not the case with the artisans. As we have seen in the inventories yet found, several lived into the twentieth century. But between the 1850 and 1860 census enumerations, apart from Overholts, there are only two people still present: Jacob Kough and Daniel Nicewanger, coopers. And between the 1860 census and the 1867 Atlas "Business Directory," there were only three of the villagers still present: Jacob Booher, head miller, and Fred Hunker and Henry Ridenour, coopers. By the 1870 census, they were all gone (though J. Ben Kough, possibly a son of the deceased Jacob Kough, cooper, had returned). Of the people living in the village in 1862, J. W. Frick did not stay as miller, even with the family connection. His family had lived in two more locations nearby (Henry Durstine's and Peter Sherrick's farms) before buying his own farm near the Independence school in 1866; he eventually moved to Ohio and bought a farm there in 1880. Jacob Booher, "engineer" at the mill at age 40 in 1862, had invested in a house and was making home improvements on it (buying ceiling boards, lath for plastering, and locust posts for a fence); one might think he would consider himself established in a career.⁵⁶ He was still present and had advanced to head miller (replacing Eli Hoover) in 1867 but was gone by 1870.⁵⁷ Peter Cruse took over as head miller sometime in the 1870s.⁵⁸ Daniel Nicewanger, the master cooper, had managed to acquire some property elsewhere, which he willed to his daughter, Anna Camp, in 1893. As their probate inventories indicate, Fred Hunker, the cooper, eventually moved to a sedentary job in East Greensburg, Henry Ridenour to Scottdale, and Jacob Hauser, the coal digger, acquired a farm in Mt. Pleasant.

⁵⁵U.S. Census, Population Schedules, 1860, 1870.

⁵⁶Ledger, April 29 and May 13, 1862.

⁵⁷Beers, Atlas (1867), 23. U.S. Census, Population Schedules, 1870.

⁵⁸U.S. Census, Population Schedules, 1880.

Thomas McLean, a cooper probably renting in 1860, was not renting or coopering any more in 1862, but was close enough to front the just-arrived cooper, Theodore Harshman, some of the money he needed for furniture.⁵⁹ Several other coopers seem to come and go during the months tracked in the ledger: Jacob Washabaugh boarded for a while at H. S. Overholt's but was gone by the end of June, as was James Clark. Fred Hunker, the miller, disappeared about then, too. John Keefer and George Eckert both made a few barrels in the middle of August and were not heard from again.⁶⁰

DIVERSIFICATION

The reason for some of this transience was that changes were also taking place in the economic base of the village. By 1874 A. S. R. Overholt began to diversify the company's operations, as well as to integrate them. Coal had been discovered on the land (Jacob Hauser had been digging it, probably from an outcropping rather than a mine), and in that year a line of sixty-four coke ovens was built along Felgars Run, the small stream that bisects the village. The population of West Overton grew from a little more than 100 in 1870 to more than 200 in 1880, although only one residential building was added--a boarding house.⁶¹ Although this paper will not examine the coal and coke business in depth, its effect on the village was notable.

The new industry brought new and different kinds of workers. By 1876 a large tenement block of dwellings was added to the village, figuring prominently in the 1876 Atlas view, and showing several doors along its length. When it appeared in the tax records (which was not until 1883) it was called the "large brick block." By 1880 it contained seven single Swedish laborers and ten married men with their families; all of the men worked in the cokeworks. Of the fifty-five men and eight boys who worked at the coke works, most were native-born Pennsylvanians, but there was one more family of Swedes, one German and one Irish family (see Appendix B). The coke-workers were newcomers. Aside from the Overholts, only Peter Sherrick, who owned his own farm, was in West Overton in both 1870 and 1880. The new population crowded together in multi-family dwellings. In 1880 Peter Cruse--the only miller listed--was living in a house with his and two other families: John R. Lewis, 36, a "car inspector [at the coke works?]," and Jonathan Stauff, 40, a "farmer." Each of these men had wives and one to four children; the house they lived in was the one next to the store, the one company rental with a large rear ell.⁶² According to the census, Cruse's 20-year-old son, Fuller, had already opted for the new job market of mining, instead of following his father's path in milling. In other words, by 1880, coal and coke began to dominate, even in West Overton.

⁵⁹U.S. Census, Population Schedules, 1860. Ledger.

⁶⁰Ledger.

⁶¹U.S. Census, Population Schedules, 1870, 1880. Because the village is not defined as such in the census, its population must be estimated. The names recorded in Appendix A (our best guess as to the extent of West Overton) total 138 people in 22 households in 1870, and 241 people in 28 households in 1880.

⁶²U.S. Census, Population Schedules, 1880.

In 1882 the coke ovens were increased to 110 and several more dwellings were added in ensuing years: there were two new houses in 1882, four frame houses of differing qualities in 1883, another frame house of very poor quality (worth only \$300) in 1884, one frame block in 1886, and three double frame houses and one double brick house in 1889. Nine head of stock were also listed in 1882, probably to haul coal from the mine to the works. Quite probably when the C. S. Overholt - Jacob O. Tinstman - Albert Galley Store failed for the second time and was repurchased by the company in 1890, the space of the store was broken up into small rooms for additional apartments. Though the cokeworks were depicted as peripheral to the village and the distillery in 1876, it would appear that economically by the 1880s they were not: the village had become a coal town, like so many in western Pennsylvania.

In 1883 a frame store was noted in the tax books, the year after Albert Galley took over the main store from J. O. Tinstman, or rather, from the bank. It is quite probable that this frame store was associated with the mill/distillery, and was the one-story frame building with a projecting pediment (a traditional store type) showing on the Sanborn map for West Overton well to the south of the original complex (and even to the south of the later bond warehouses). If this is so, it would presage the increasing separation of the distilling and the cokeworking segments of the A. C. Overholt Company.

In 1880 most of the coal and coke workers were born in Pennsylvania, with only 20 percent born in Europe (Sweden, Germany and Ireland), and only another three born out of state, for that matter. This American purity was maintained rather longer at West Overton than some coal towns. When a lot was sold off for a church to be built in 1889, it was to the Mt. Pleasant Baptists (long established in western Pennsylvania), not to a congregation of Eastern European immigrants.⁶³ West Overton's foreign boarders were all Lutherans, and in their 20's. It is conceivable that this ethnic peculiarity of West Overton late in the century is a lingering presence of the original Mennonite--and fiercely Protestant--heritage.

By 1906 the distilling operation experienced a resurgence in importance, with a six-and-a-half-story brick "Bonded" warehouse, a boiler house, office building and dry house added late in the year. In late 1907 the company bifurcated its operations, with whiskey production becoming the "West Overton Distillery," and the village rentals remaining under the name of A. C. Overholt Co. A second large bond warehouse was added in 1909. The brick boarding house was sold to the Continental Silver Company, manufacturers of casket hardware, in 1906, who operated there only until 1912. Although the coke ovens fell off the tax lists (or were hidden from them) since 1904, it is clear that coal remained a part of the A. C. Overholt operation, as a "tipple and coal" was added in 1918. The distilling business at West Overton died with prohibition in 1919.

⁶³The lot was next to the Overholt Co. Worker's House B, the one Frick lived in, across the street and uphill from the store. By contrast, the township's one other structure with a large number of unrelated people in it was a boarding house full of foreigners run by an Ellen Cash. She was not taxed for real estate, so apparently she ran the establishment for a non-resident owner, perhaps for another company. In any event, she was 35 years old, and had three children (12, 9 and 7 years old), no husband at the moment, and one unrelated American fellow (Nelson Bartholomew, 40) and his wife (Mary, 23) who helped out. Together, they tended forty-four single men, between the ages of 19 and 60, twenty-four of them from Ireland, five from England, two Scotsmen, seven native Pennsylvanians, and one each from Germany, Austria, Hungary, Canada, Maryland and New York.

In 1849, ten years before the first large mill/distillery was built, Henry Clay Frick was born, son of the assistant miller, J. W. Frick and Elizabeth Overholt, daughter of the founding Abraham. H. C. Frick grew up to apply several of the ideas of integration, first observed on the farm of his grandfather, to his own coal and coke company, and later, at an even larger scale, to the steelworks of Andrew Carnegie (eventually U. S. Steel). He was central to the bloody labor dispute at the Homestead Works in 1892, and by 1904 built a neo-baroque mansion on Fifth Avenue in New York, filled it with northern baroque and Spanish Old Masters, and established a major private museum.

In 1922 his daughter, Helen Clay Frick, bought the mansion house of Abraham Overholt along with 11 acres and the outbuildings, including the springhouse in which family tradition maintains her father was actually born. She began the "restoration" of the buildings to her own taste, that is, adding a non-functional reproduction of the great baroque fireplace of the Lutheran Mueller house of Millbach, Pennsylvania (then recently installed in the Philadelphia Museum of Art), and dedicating it to the memory of her father's plain Mennonite ancestors. To do this she removed a door connecting the two north rooms of the main floor, as well as the chairrails, hiring the Wilson Cabinet Co. to find and mill the chestnut pieces (it is not hewn oak as is the original) and importing slate for the firebox from Poultney, Vermont.⁶⁴ She also commissioned murals of the eighteenth-century military history of the county to be painted by a Mrs. Platt in New York City and installed in the parlor. On the latter's suggestion, a horizontal pine board dado was installed; all previous wallpapers and apparently some woodwork were "scraped."⁶⁵ She renamed Overholt Street Frick Avenue.

Although Helen Clay Frick was repeatedly offered the defunct mill and distillery complex, including the original mill of 1859, she declined. It was sold in 1925 to Israel Rosenblum, who began to remove the bond warehouses, using the brick to build apartment buildings in Braddock, Pennsylvania. He also offered the property to her, at a higher price, and she continued to decline, adding to a letter from Karl F. Overholt, urging her to do so: "I really see no advantage in my acquiring this property--Even in case of a West. Co. Hist. Society [then suggested but still not formed]--so for the present will do nothing further."⁶⁶ Frick finally did buy the complex from Rosenblum in 1927, and, in an effort to lower her taxes, continued to remove the unusable buildings, until all but the original mill were gone.⁶⁷

⁶⁴Letter dated April 26, 1928, Helen Clay Frick to Lula Frick Taylor, Helen's cousin and the curator of the museum until her death in July 1967; Letter dated April 13, 1928, Karl Frick Overholt to Lula Taylor; "Schedule of work," all in the West Overton Museums Archives.

⁶⁵"Suggestions from Mrs. Platt," memo from H. C. Frick to K. F. Overholt, West Overton Museums Archives.

⁶⁶This is a scrawled addendum to a letter from Karl Frick Overholt in Pittsburgh to Helen Clay Frick in New York, dated January 19, 1926, West Overton Museums Archives.

⁶⁷Letters from and to A. Bruce Vance, R. D. 3, Alverton, Tax Assessor of East Huntingdon Township, dated November 19, 21, and December 27, 1928, West Overton Museum Archives.

WEST OVERTON
HABS No. PA-5654 (Page 24)

On October 27, 1927, she gave the remaining buildings, the nucleus of the farm established by the original Henry Overholt and built by Abraham Overholt in the 1830s-1860s, to a newly established Fayette-Westmoreland County Branch of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society. The museums were then administered by another Frick relative, Luella Frick Taylor, apparently until her death in 1967 at the age of 91. Since that time the West Overton Museums have added other properties, containing the Henry S. Overholt House, the Christian S. Overholt House and Store, and the two southernmost workers' houses (across the street). All these buildings are awaiting restoration and interpretation; several other adjacent properties remain in private hands.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

A. Graphic:

Beers, S. N. and D. G. Atlas of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: A. Pomeroy, 1867.
Page 23: map of West Overton

Davis, F. A. New Illustrated Atlas of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, 1876 with 1971 Supplementary Section. Rimersburg, PA: Pennsylvania Record Press, 1971; originally published by Reading Publishing Company, 1876.
Page 51: map of West Overton. Buildings identical to 1867 map, names different.
Page 53: full-page, perspective view of West Overton. Detailed and informative.
Copy included on page 42 below.
Page 80: map of West Overton, with slightly different buildings than page 51, also railway and coke ovens.

Insurance Maps of Scottdale, Westmoreland County, . . . Pennsylvania. New York: Sanborn Map Co., 1908.
Sheet 11 includes West Overton.

Insurance Maps of Scottdale . . . Pennsylvania. New York: Sanborn Map Co., 1914.
Sheet 8 includes West Overton.

Lake, D. J., and N. S. Ames. Map of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. New York: Wm. J. Barker, 1857.
Includes map of "Overton," with buildings indicated schematically.

Sanborn's Surveys of the Whiskey Warehouses of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, and New York. New York: Sanborn-Perris Map Co., 1894.
Page 28: The Overholt works at Broadford, Fayette County.

Sanborn's Surveys of the Whiskey Warehouses of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, and New York. New York: Sanborn-Perris Map Co., 1894; revised to 1913.

This revised version of this map is rare, and seems to be available only at the Archives of Industrial Society at the University of Pittsburgh's Hillman Library.

Scottdale, Westmoreland County, including West Overton . . . Pennsylvania. New York: Sanborn Map Co., 1925.

Sheet 17 includes West Overton.

B. Photographs:

Stotz Collection (Western Pennsylvania Architectural Survey), Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh. Photographs taken in 1932-35 include main house, spring house, and workers' houses.

West Overton Museums Archives has copies of a number of historic photographs on slides, including views of the store and a worker's house taken ca. 1913.

C. Interviews:

Glick, Ivan. Interviewed by author, August 14, 1990.

D. Written:

1. Primary and unpublished:

Karl Overholt Diary, West Overton Museums Archives.

Ledger books of Overholt Co., West Overton Museums Archives.

U.S. Census, Population Schedules, 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880.

U.S. Census, Manufacturers, 1850, 1860, 1870.

Deed books, Westmoreland County Courthouse, Greensburg, PA.

Tax assessment records, Westmoreland County Courthouse, Greensburg, PA.

2. Secondary and published:

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PROJECT INFORMATION

Documentation of the West Overton site was undertaken by the Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record, a division of the National Park Service, in conjunction with America's Industrial Heritage Project and the West Overton Museums. The project was under the direction of Gray Fitzsimons, HAER Historian, and Joseph Balachowski, HABS Architect. Documentation was begun in 1990 by Victoria Fleming (University of Florida), Supervisor; architects Janet Chen (Illinois Institute of Technology), Robert G. Colosimo (Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, through ICOMOS), and Richard J. P. Renaud (Lawrence Technological University); and historian Charles Bergengren (University of the Arts, Philadelphia). This historical report was edited in the HABS office by Alison K. Hoagland, HABS senior historian, in 1991-92.

APPENDIX A: WEST OVERTON IN THE 1860s

A business directory for West Overton on page 23 of the 1867 Beers Atlas gave a succinct list of the men who held the salaried jobs, plus a few of the artisans:

Principal Millers, Distillers, and Grain Dealers:	A. Overholt H. S. Overholt
Principal Clerk and Cashier:	A. S. R. Overholt
Head Distiller:	Jacob O. Tinstman
Assistant Distillers:	C. S. R. Overholt J. S. R. Overholt
Head Miller:	Jacob Booher
Assistant Millers:	Booher, Schrader, Bryan
Coopers:	F. Hunker, Ridenour, Wilson Booher, Stevenson

Ledgers of the A. & H. S. Overholt Company listed those who were renting company-owned houses in the village in 1862 (listed in ascending order of cost of rent):

Name	Rent (per 3 mos.)	Occupation/task	Pay (per month)
Peter Rowan	\$3	Labor, fed hogs, Watchman at Mill, a little harvesting	\$21 (feeding) \$22 (watching)
John Mason	\$6	Labor	\$19
Theodore Harshman (boarded at Nicewanger's at first; rented after April 1)	\$6.25	Cooper, harvesting	ave. \$27
Israel Shorow	\$6.25	Labor, cleaned boilers Gatherer: sold cherries	\$18
Henry M. Ridenour	\$6.25	Cooper, Butcher	ave. \$20.30
Jacob Hauser	\$6.25	Coal Digger, comes up for harvest	ave. \$30.22
Christian Haverly	\$6.25	Tended malt house	\$28.50
Jacob Kough (apparently dies in 1862, widow takes over)			
Rebecca Kough	\$8.75	Jacob: Cooper Rebecca: takes in boarders	\$29.10 \$41.50
Frederick Hunker	\$10.00	Cooper, helps in harvest	\$30.28
Daniel Nicewanger	\$10.00	Cooper, planted a little	\$31.05
L. Lloyd Shallenberger	\$12.50	Farmer, sold wheat to distillery	?

WEST OVERTON
HABS No. PA-5654 (Page 28)

John W. Frick	\$12.50	Tended mill	\$30.00
Eli S. Hoover	\$12.50	Tended mill	\$41.66

In addition, Jacob Booher owned ten acres and a house nearby, for which he was assessed \$462. He "tended Engine" at the mill and was paid \$30 a month.

Furthermore, the ledger identified ten people who boarded within the village, principally at Henry S. Overholt's and Rebecca Kough's:

Name	Rent	Occupation	Pay
<i>At H. S. Overholt's:</i>			
James Clark		Cooper, itinerant	\$.60 a barrel; if he kept at it: \$26.65
James Washabaugh	\$7.20	Cooper (April to late June)	ave. \$20.26
<i>At Rebecca Kough's:</i>			
Jacob Leasure		Labor, sometimes watchman harvesting, cleaning boiler	\$.50 per day (\$22.50 per mo.)
Christian Booher		Carpenter tended mill	\$.87 per day; later \$1 per day (\$30.00 per mo.) \$30.00 per mo.
Daniel Reece		labor Carpenter, after May 10	\$.87 per day; later \$1.00 per day \$.87 per day
George Howard		labor, cleaned boiler quarterly	\$.75 per day
Joseph Leasure		labor	
Thomas Hodges		labor	\$.50 per day, or \$15.00 per mo.
David Kough (teenager?)		labor	\$6.50 per mo.
Fred Hunker	\$7.20	tended engine at the mill also labor disappears mid June	\$24.00 per mo. sometimes \$24.00 per mo. sometimes \$16.00 per mo.
<i>Other company workers (of unknown households):</i>			
Robert Smith		drove team	\$13.00 per mo.
David Hepler		labor	\$15.50 per mo.
Emanuel Hepler (his son)		labor	\$6.50 per mo.

WEST OVERTON
HABS No. PA-5654 (Page 29)

APPENDIX B: CENSUSES

West Overton is not defined as such in the census records, but is included in East Huntington Township. The following selections from the censuses is an approximation of who might have been in West Overton, based on known names from the Overholt Company ledgers and on relevant occupations.

"Dwg. #": The census taker numbered each separate building, and also numbered each household. The numbers recorded here are the building numbers; a blank space indicates a new household within the same dwelling. The dwellings are listed in order visited, and assuming the census-taker followed a logical progression, this item can give some sense of which buildings are located next to each other, and, thus, who is living where. The system is not foolproof, however; although family diaries state that in 1850 J. W. Frick and his family was living in the springhouse next to the Abraham Overholt house, the census-taker listed them on the other side of the Henry S. Overholt family. But the census-taker generally put neighboring houses near each other, if not next to each other, in the list.

"Name": The names of every adult are repeated in this list. Non-working children are lumped together.

"Age" and "Occupation" are repeated as the census-taker recorded them.

"Real Est.": The value, in dollars, of real estate. If no real estate is listed, it can be assumed that the family is renting its house, probably from the Overholt Company.

"Pers. Est.": The value, in dollars, of personal possessions. This information was not collected in the 1850 census.

"Place of Birth": The place of birth is the same as the head of the household, unless otherwise noted.

1850 CENSUS

Dwg. #	Name	Age	Occupation	Real Est.	Place of Birth
77	Abram Overholt	66	farmer	80,300	PA
	wife Maria	57			
	Christian Overholt	25	farmer		
	John Cough	17			
	Henry Evendoll	75	farmer		Germany
	Ann Leighty	21			
	Maria Evendoll	14			Germany
	Jackson Byerly	23	laborer		
78	H. S. Overholt	40	millor	9,000	PA
	wife Ahigail and 2 children				
	Charles Taylor	17	laborer		
	Maria Stonecker	20			
79	John W. Frick	29	laborer		PA
	wife Elizabeth and 2 children				
	Martha Gotsteben	20			
	Daniel Frick	22	millor		
	Jacob Oysterman	23	cooper		Germany
	Chris Oysterman	20	cooper		Germany

WEST OVERTON
HABS No. PA-5654 (Page 30)

80	Henry O. Overholt wife Elizabeth and 4 children	37	weaver	800	PA
	John McGiffin	26	weaver		
	George Bosh	21	weaver		Germany
	Solomon Landes	19	weaver		
81	Wm. Jones wife Mary and 9 children	39	laborer		PA
	Nancy Larimer	70			
	Christian Overholt Jr.	23	distiller		
82	Isaac Welshouse wife Caroline	33	miller		PA
83	Martin Overholt wife Maria and 1 child	39	distiller		PA
84	Daniel Nicewanger wife Fanny and 5 children	40	cooper		PA
	Peter Steinman	29	cooper		
85	Jacob Cough wife Rebecca and 7 children	42	cooper		PA
86	Abraham O. Overholt wife Mary and 1 child	38	farmer	9,000	PA
	John O. Overholt	33	farmer		
	Martin O. Overholt	26	farmer		
	Catherine Overholt	72			
	Catherine Leighty	19			
87	George Shoemaker wife Lydia and 4 children	43	farmer	5,000	PA
	Susan Stuckleger	38			
88	Martin D. Overholt wife Mary and 2 children	33	farmer	5,000	PA
	Margaret Evendoll	11			
	Isaac Castle	14			

WEST OVERTON
HABS No. PA-5654 (Page 31)

1860 CENSUS

Dwg. #	Name	Age	Occupation	Real Est.	Pers. Est.	Place of Birth
805	Nathan Close wife Anna and 1 child	35	watchman at O. mills	1,500	150	PA
806	Jacob Booher wife Missouri and 5 children	38	engineer	1,000	1,000	PA
807	Abraham Overholt wife Maria and 1 child	76	manufacturer	75,650	79,350	PA
	Jacob Stouffer	19	farm laborer			
	Jacob Tinstman wife Anna	26	distiller		2,280	PA
	Margaret Kelly	26	servant			
	Margaret Ritchey	16	?			
808	Christian S. Overholt wife Catherine and 3 children	36	farmer	20,120	4,500	PA
	James S. Overholt	15	farm lab.			
	Jonas Miller	35	farm lab.			
	Emma Boadley	23				
	Henry O. Tinstman	23	distiller		580	
809	Thomas McLain wife Barbara and 6 children	43	cooper		2,233	PA
810	Frederick Hunker wife Sarah and 4 children	41	cooper	600	125	Wurtemberg, Ger. PA
811	Daniel Nicewanger wife Fanny and 7 children	49	cooper	1,500	400	PA
812	Henry M. Rittenhour wife Ellen and 7 children	26	cooper		255	PA
813	Jacob Kough wife Rebecca and 7 children	51	cooper			PA
	John Mason	23	laborer			
814	Henry S. Overholt wife Abigail and 4 children	49	manufacturer	33,750	8,859	PA
	Benjamin Carpenter	15				
	Thomas Carpenter	12				
	John Harn	23	teamster	300		Wurtemberg, Ger.
815	Edward Artis wife Mary	28	farm lab.		50	PA
816	Jacob Hauser wife Ursula and 3 children	36	?		115	Wurtemberg, Ger. Ursula b. Ger.

WEST OVERTON
HABS No. PA-5654 (Page 32)

	Christian Haberly wife Catherine and 4 children	38	?		100	Wurtemberg, Ger. Cath. & 1 child b. Ger., rest PA
817	Jacob Hull wife Mary and 6 children	57	coal miner	230	75	PA
818	Henry Rice wife Bathsheba and 5 children	63	farm labor	750	100	PA

WEST OVERTON
HABS No. PA-5654 (Page 33)

1870 CENSUS

Dwg. #	Name	Age	Occupation	Real Est.	Pers. Est.	Place of Birth
274	John W. Frick wife Eliz. and 4 children	48	farmer	7,740	3,550	PA
275	Michael Troxel wife Eliz. and 9 children	70	ret. farmer	18,850	1,942	PA
276	Henry Fox wife (dtr?) Anna and 6 children Sam Martin wife Mary	85 21	farmer farm lab.			PA
277	Peter Sherrick wife Leah and 2 children David Brand Eliz. Pollack	53 40 58	farmer blacksmith domestic servant	18,600	8,000 900	PA
279	Jacob Zundel wife Melissa and 4 children	42	farmer	17,750	3,215	PA
280	J. S. Zundel wife Annetta	27	schoolteacher		500	
281	John Stevenson wife Mary and 5 children Martha Moody	60 74	farmer boarding		1,325	PA
282	James Sheppard wife Lydia and 5 children	55	blacksmith	2,500	1,848	PA
283	John Strohm wife Christina and 5 children Emma Jones	46 ?	farmer domest. servant	10,125	2,435	PA
284	James Harden wife Sarah and 4 children	43	farmer	30,500	4,520	PA
285	John L. Lowe wife Christina and 1 child	46	farmer	7,300	1,865	PA
286	Jesse Fox wife Frederica and 2 children	25	farmer		300	PA
287	Joseph Gardner wife Tinsman E. Gardner Han. Tinsman Abraham Tinsman	67 60 50 72	farmer kp. house at home farm labor	4,320	1,950 600	PA
288	David Longsdorf wife Leah and 7 children	57	farmer		3,440	PA

WEST OVERTON
HABS No. PA-5654 (Page 34)

289	Simon Bitts wife Harriet and 5 children	36	farm labor		400	PA
290	Margaret Hait 5 children	36	tollgate keeper		500	PA
291	H. S. Overholt wife Abbey and 5 children Ben F.	59 21	manufacturer whiskey manager	137,200	98,179	PA
292	A. S. R. Overholt wife Sally Mary McLean Amanda McLean	32 38 16	agent of factory domestic servant domestic servant		6,000	PA
293	Abram Overholt wife Mariah Maria Frick Joan Raymin 3 children named Hait (?)	85 21 18	ret. manufacturer at home domestic servant	198,700	202,000	PA
294	D. L. Shupe wife Lucinda and 3 children	33	farm labor		300	PA 1 child b. IN
295	J. S. Fox wife Marget and 7 children	46	farmer	10,690	3,803	PA
296	J. Ben Kough wife Jane	35	farm labor		360	PA

WEST OVERTON
HABS No. PA-5654 (Page 35)

1880 CENSUS

The 1880 census did not collect information on real and personal property. It added a new category, one establishing the relationship of people to the head of the household.

Dwg. #	Name	Age	Relationship to hd. of hshld.	Occupation	Place of Birth
150	Abigail Overholt [widow of Henry]	50		keeping house	PA
	Benj. F.	31	son	clerk at coke works	
	Maria	24	daughter	at home	
	Abbie	23	daughter	at home	
	Abram	21	son	manager coke works	
	Henry	18	son	at school	
	Jenny	16	daughter	at school	
151	John Stoleband	27		coal miner	Sweden
	Alfred Anderson	26	boarder	coal miner	
	Nels Nelson	31	boarder	coal miner	
	John Carlson	23	boarder	coal miner	
	John Hagman	26	boarder	coal miner	
	John Bantson	19	boarder	coal miner	
	Otto Peterson	19	boarder	coal miner	
	David O'Brien	45		coal miner	Ireland
	wife Mary and 4 children				Mary b.Ireland children h. PA
	Andrew Fry	39		works at coke wks.	PA
	wife Emma and 7 children				
	Phebe Harrold	43	sister		
	Eliz. Harrold	9	niece		
	Justus Long	29		coal miner	PA
	wife Jennie and 1 child				
	James Dugan	40	father-in-law	coal miner	
	Saml Dugan	14	brother-in-law	coal miner	
	Charles Cross	31		works at coke wks.	PA
	wife Sarah and 2 children				
	Zachariah Fry	33		works at coke wks.	PA
	wife Ellen and 1 child				
	Frederick	12	son	works at coke wks.	
	Henry Burnhart	26		coal miner	PA
	wife Eliz.				
	Jackson Burnhart	22	brother	coal miner	
	George Smith	40		works at coke wks.	MD
	wife Eliz.				Ireland
	John Sullivan	26		works at coke wks.	Ireland

WEST OVERTON
HABS No. PA-5654 (Page 36)

	wife Catharine and 5 children				all PA
	Saml Henry	35		coal miner	IN
	mother Sarah and sister Mary				both PA
	Spencer Chambers	29		works at coke wks.	PA
	wife Esther and 4 children				
152	James Funk	32		works at coke wks.	PA
	wife Sarah and 4 children				
	J. Gallatin	23	boarder	works at coke wks.	
	Jos. Chatman	27	boarder	works at coke wks.	
	Jas. Hawley	25	boarder	works at coke wks.	
	Wm. Baker	24	boarder	works at coke wks.	
153	John Ward	21		works at coke wks.	PA
	wife Margaret and 1 child				
154	H. C. Rosensteel	27		works at coke wks.	PA
	wife Anna and 4 children				
155	Michael Rosensteel	55		works at coke wks.	PA
	wife Maria, 3 children, 1 grandchild				
	John	25	son	coal miner	
	Michael	20	son	works at coke wks.	
	Elmer	15	son	works at coke wks.	
	James	13	son	works at coke wks.	
156	C. A. Burford	27		blacksmith	PA
	wife Ida and 2 children				
	Budd Leardsley	24	boarder	works at coke wks.	
158	Isaac Sherrick	38		farmer	PA
	wife Mary and 4 children				
159	John M. King	43		works at coke wks.	PA
	wife Catharine and 4 children				
	Albert Williams	22	boarder	works at coke wks.	
160	W. H. Rosensteel	29		coal miner	PA
	wife Mary and 3 children				
161	Jack Alston	35		coal miner	Sweden
	wife Annie and 3 children				Annie b. Sweden
	John Anderson	50	father-in-law	coal miner	children b. PA
	Ed Benson	23	boarder	coal miner	Sweden
162	W. H. Hayden	35		works at coke wks.	MD
	wife Virginia and 6 children				Virginia b. MD
					children b. PA
163	Henry Myers	39		works at coke wks.	PA
	wife Eliz. and 4 children				

WEST OVERTON
HABS No. PA-5654 (Page 37)

	Christian Anthony wife Susan and 5 children	52		farm labor	PA
	George Sullenberger wife Sarah and 3 children	49		coal miner	PA
	Samuel	18	son	works at coke wks.	
	David	12	son	works at coke wks.	
	John	11	son	works at coke wks.	
164	Aaron Overholt wife Sarah and 2 children	41		laborer [I]	PA
165	Aaron Miller wife Annie and 2 children	28		coal miner	PA
166	Jacob O. Tinstman wife Annie and 2 children	48		farmer	PA
	Abraham	19	son	clerk in store	
	James A. Power	25	boarder	clerk in store	
167	Peter Cruse wife Sarah and 3 children	53		miller	PA
	Fuller	20	son	coal miner	
	John R. Lewis wife Dora and 4 children	36		car inspector	PA
	Jonathan Stauff wife Lydia and 1 child	39		farmer	PA
168	Jacob Arnel wife Mary and 1 child	25		works at coke wks.	PA
169	Wm. Horn [Horn?] wife Lizzie and 1 child	24		coal miner	PA Lizzie b. NJ child b. PA
170	Jacob Clark wife Mary and 3 children	40		works at coke wks.	PA
171	Isaac Trout wife Emma and 2 children	33		coal miner	PA
172	David Hepler wife Mary	61		farmer tenant	PA
173	David Thomas wife Adaline and 5 children	30		coal miner	PA
174	C. Baughman wife Barbara and 2 children	49		coal miner	Hesse Cassel Barbara b. Hesse Cassel children b. PA
	Henry	18	son	coal miner	
	George	15	son	coal miner	
	Charles	13	son	coal miner	

WEST OVERTON
HABS No. PA-5654 (Page 38)

175	John Booher wife Catharine and 6 children	40		works at coke wks.	PA
176	A. Overholt wife Mary and 1 child	68		farmer	PA
	John	23	son	works on farm	
	Martin	55	brother	farmer	
177	Jacob Sherrick wife Sarah and 1 child	67		farmer	PA
	Joseph Sherrick wife Samantha and 2 children	34		farmer tenant	PA
	Grant Kough	14	hired man	works on farm	
	Jerome Zouor [?]	24	hired man	works on farm	
178	Peter Sherrick wife Leah	63 62		farmer	PA
	Andy Rosensteel	19	keeping back [?]	coal miner	PA
	Lewis Whitehead	26	boarder	coal miner	
	Joseph Roger wife Mary and 1 child	24		works at coke wks.	PA

APPENDIX C: EXPENSES AND INCOME OF SELECTED INDIVIDUALS, 1862

The data were gleaned from the A. & H. S. Overholt Co. ledger between the dates of April 1, 1862 (or just after paying rent and settling up for the previous months), and October, two "quarterly" accountings later. The personal expenditures of individuals from different stations are compared, breaking down separate columns for categories of staple foodstuffs (flour, meat, and other, which includes salt, sugar, apples, cider and whiskey); horse feed; fuel (coal); rent (including summer pasture rental for those workers who had a cow or two); and that overwhelming catchall "to cash" (which includes the bill from the C. S. Overholt store, and all other "sundries").

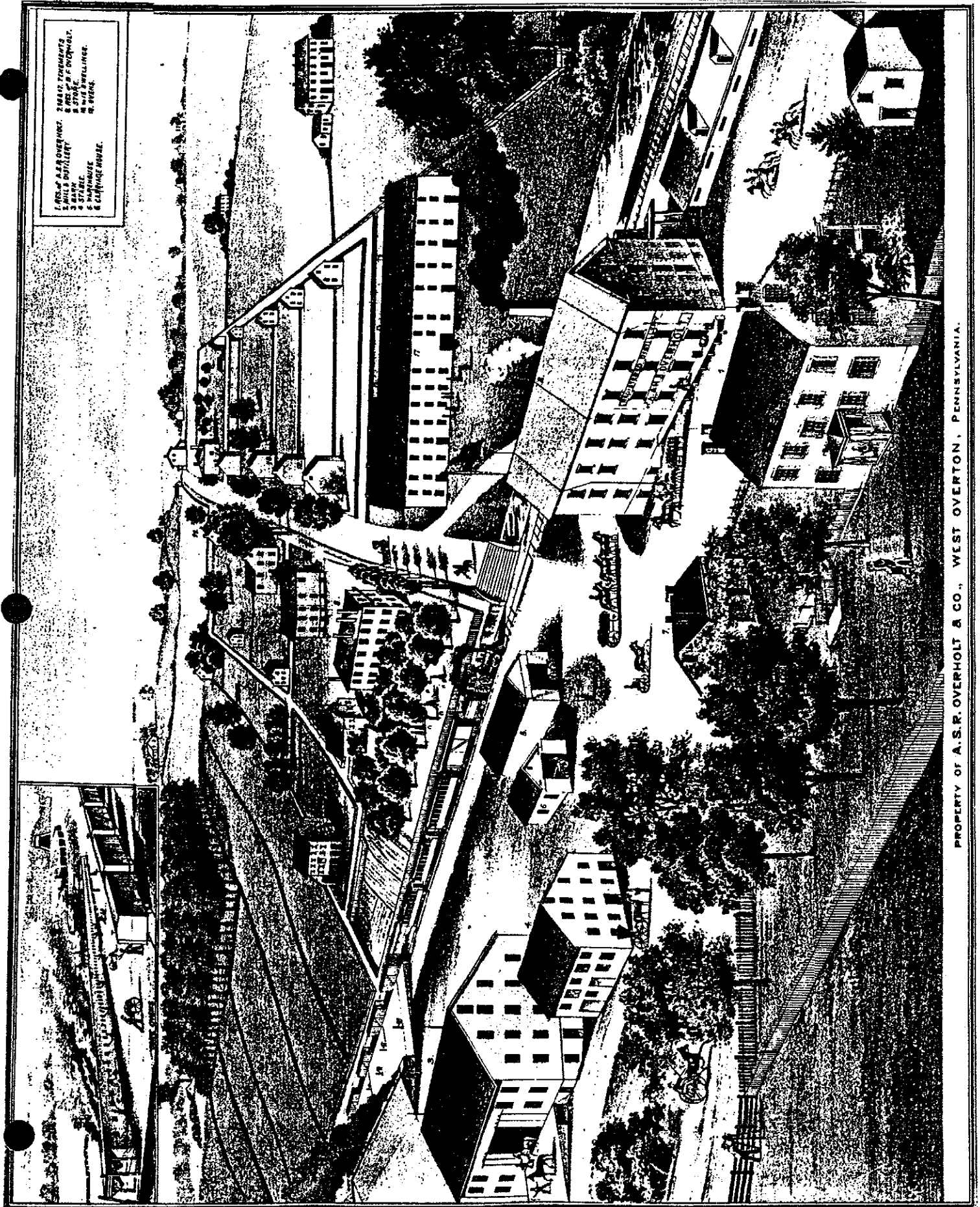
Name	Expenses (6 mos.)					Horse		Fuel	"To Cash"	Rent*	Total Expenses	Income (6 mos.)	Savings (Debt)
	Flour	Meat	Other Food	Food		Feed							
<i>Renters:</i>													
Peter Rowan	\$6.83	1.92	.25			3.10	1.50	69.49	8.00		91.09	56.49	(34.60)
<i>Theodore</i>													
Harshman	17.45	7.64	1.4			.56	.50	204.95	16.50		249.00	185.62	(63.38)
Jacob Hauser	14.17	5.71	4.16			4.88	0	86.85	12.50		128.27	173.96	45.69
<i>Christian</i>													
Haverly	19.28	5.83	10.39			1.41	.50	112.47	16.50		166.38	174.74	8.36
Fred Hunker	14.71	5.77	6.25			5.47	1.50	53.72	24.00		111.48	187.97	76.49
<i>Daniel</i>													
Nicewanger	27.70	12.04	.59			1.46	1.50	116.47	24.00		183.76	177.59	(6.17)
John W. Frick	18.11	8.22	7.70			8.14	1.00	69.74	31.00		143.91	178.00	34.04
Eli S. Hoover	10.30	1.68	6.51			.70	2.00	147.18	25.00		193.37	257.05	63.05
<i>Homeowner:</i>													
Jacob Booher	18.67	.44	0			3.52	0	126.05	0		148.69	132.69	(16.00)
<i>Boarders:</i>													
Jacob Leasure	0	0	0			0	0	82.12 (pd. R. Kough 45.00 cash for board for 5 mos.)				82.46	.34
Daniel Reece	4.99	.10	.61			1.54	0	17.29	35.10		59.63	74.43	14.80
AVERAGES	14.91	4.80	3.78			3.07	.85	98.7	23.76		147.56	152.82	11.11

*includes cow pasture

APPENDIX D: SEASONAL EARNINGS, 1862

From the Overholt Company ledgers.

Name	March	April	May	June	July	August	September
Peter Rowan	21.00	21.00	7.70	18.50	18.01	2.35?	1.12-1/2?
Theodore Harshman	18.00	22.50	31.10	34.20	24.62	22.50	36.00
Henry Ridenour	?	?	14.60	19.60	23.38	20.80	23.16
Jacob Hauser	37.07	31.52	38.81	27.10	30.87	28.86	17.25
Christian Haverly	28.50	28.50	28.50	28.50	28.50	28.50	28.50
Jacob & Rebecca Kough	?	15.55	10.00	6.42	98.60	79.50	79.50
Fred Hunker	24.05	27.80	36.75	40.04	20.23	33.82	29.30
Daniel Nicewanger	30.50	14.85	42.25	31.40	30.40	47.88	20.10
John W. Frick	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00
Eli S. Hoover	41.66	41.66	41.66	41.66	41.66	41.66	41.66
Jacob Booher	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00
Daniel Reece	?	20.12	15.75	15.75	10.50	11.00	6.25
Daniel Troxel	45.76	83.83	88.19	50.60	32.09	51.65	6.70



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100. STABLE

PROPERTY OF A.S.R. OVERHOLT & CO., WEST OVERTON, PENNSYLVANIA.